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I.—JEAN PAUL FRIEDRICH RICHTER AND
E. T. A. HOFFMANN.

A STUDY IN THE RELATIONS OF JEAN PAUL TO
ROMANTICISM.

INTRODUCTION.

Friedrich Roehlitz, who as editor of the Leipsic *Musikalische Zeitung* first introduced E. T. A. Hoffmann to the German reading public, relates an interesting interview with the author soon after the appearance of the first volume of the *Fantasiestücke in Calot's Manier*. In reviewing the work for his paper, Roehlitz had declared, "was," to quote his words, "kein Mensch erkennen konnte—er (Hoffmann) ahme im Stile und einigermaßen in der Form überhaupt, dem Jean Paul nach." Hoffmann was enraged, and poured out his feelings in the vigorous and excited fashion, so well known to those who had in any way excited his ill will.¹

¹ *Allg. Musik. Ztg.*, Nr. 41, 9. Okt., 1822. The sketch, written immediately on receipt of the news of Hoffmann's death, was reprinted in Fr. Roehlitz, *Für Freunde der Tonkunst*, Lpzg., 1825, II, 27.

Rochlitz' opinion, however, was echoed by Richter himself. In a letter to Rellstab, written many years later, Jean Paul gives Hoffmann anything but complimentary criticism, and does not hesitate to say that the best he had written was stolen goods, stolen especially from Tieck and himself.¹ Allowing something for Richter's thorough alienation from the Romanticists and something more for his egotism, his opinion has nevertheless been echoed by most professional historians of German literature. Goedeke sets Hoffmann directly under the ban of Jean Paul's form;² Julian Schmidt finds an inner congeniality between the two;³ Gottschall calls him "den Jean Paul der Romantik," and elsewhere "den karikierten Jean Paul;"⁴ Kirchner puts him down as a "Schüler Jean Pauls,"⁵ and Hirsch as a "verwandter Geist."⁶ Especially among the French literary historians, who are disposed in general to overrate Hoffmann's importance, there is a tendency to put the little *Geisterseher* and Jean Paul side by side. Heinrich calls them "les premiers des romanciers humoristes,"⁷ and to others the influence of Richter's style on Hoffmann appears incontestable.⁸ Dr. Ellinger, the author of the most important work on Hoffmann, although conceding Richter's influence, makes important reservations, restricting it to Hoffmann's earlier years, and emphasizing, on the other hand, the importance of the Romanticists for his development.⁹

¹ Rellstab's "Blätter der Erinnerung." *Morgenblatt*, 1839. Nr. 258. Sp. 1030 ff. Cf. Nerrlich, *Jean Paul und seine Zeitgenossen*, B. 76 (cited below as "Ztg."), S. 256. ³ *Grundriss zur Geschichte d. d. Dichtung*, VIII, 472.

² "Die empfehlende Vorrede Jean Pauls spricht nichts weiter aus, als die innere Verwandtschaft." *Geschichte d. d. Nationallit. im 19. Jahrh.*, II, 373.

⁴ *Die deutsche Nationallit. des 19 Jahrh.*, I, 482.

⁵ *Geschichte d. d. Nationallit. des 19 Jahrh.*, S. 120.

⁶ *Geschichte d. d. Lit.*, III, 344.

⁷ *Hist. d. d. Littérature allemande*, III, 176.

⁸ For instance, Bossert in the *Grande Encyclopédie*, XX, 175.

⁹ E. T. A. Hoffmann. *Sein Leben und seine Werke*. Hamburg, Lpzg., 94, P. VII, 39, and elsewhere.

Thus far no one seems to have undertaken a careful search through Hoffmann's published works and such letters and fragments of his diary as have seen the light for elements which may have been due to vivid and persistent impressions derived from the early and constant reading of Richter.¹ The object of the present paper is to show the results of such a search as revealing characteristics which may be safely described as "Richteresque." In the case of two authors so essentially different in character and style it is unsafe to say more.

PERSONAL RELATIONS AND REFERENCES.

In the first place, it should be noted that the references to Richter in Hoffmann's works are few in number. Hoffmann was almost as omnivorous in his reading as Jean Paul himself; and he conscientiously gives his sources, wherever an old chronicle of Wagenseil's or a Märchen of Gozzi's or a forgotten English novel furnishes the theme for one of his stories. References to Shakspere and Schiller, to Tieck and Mozart abound; but for mention of really congenial and deeply related spirits, of Lawrence Sterne, of his fellow-countryman Hippel and of Richter, we must look thru his letters and diary and lay bare the tissue of his style and procedure. Such a search leads with absolute certainty to one conclusion, viz., that Richter was one of the favorite authors to whom he fled for consolation during his lonely childhood in Königsberg and amid the storm and stress of the unfortunate love affair with Cora Hatt. In the letters to Theodore von Hippel, his boyhood friend, covering the period of his university years and immediately thereafter, 1794–1798, Hoffmann's references to Richter are frequent, and are

¹The paper promised two years ago by Czerny (*Sterne, Hippel und Jean Paul*. Berlin, 04, S. 38 Anm.) has not come to my attention, if it has appeared.

such as one would make who writes without formality and quotes a favorite author from memory. Thus "Ich hätte wie Jean Paul mein Herz hervorgenommen, und gesagt 'prenez';"¹ or, "Eben kommt ein höchst sonderbarer Mensch Associé, Litis-Consorte (nach Jean Paul) eines Hauses."² He recalls Richter's simile illustrating the demoniacal power of music: "Es ist wahr, was Jean Paul sagt, die Musik legt sich um unser Herz, wie die Löwenzunge, welche so lange kitzelnd und juckend auf der Haut liegt, bis Blut flieszt;—so ungefähr lautet die Stelle;"³ and in another connection the over-coat of a departed cousin in Glogau suggests Jean Paul's words, "der abgelegte Alltags-Kleider für das sinnlichste Andenken abwesender Freunde hält."⁴ Here and there he adds an "Extra-Blatt," in direct imitation of the bewildering device that runs riot thru Richter's satires and earlier romances.⁵

There is indeed much in the sentimental outpourings of friendship in these letters which is so foreign to Hoffmann's character as it afterwards developed, that one involuntarily sees here an influence of those romances of Jean Paul thoroughly devoted to the friendship-cult, the *Unsichtbare Loge* and *Hesperus*. It is to *Hesperus* that we naturally ascribe the genesis of such expressions as the following, addressed to friend Hippel in 1795: "Wenn ich sage, dasz

¹ Hitzig, *Aus Hoffmanns Leben und Nachlass*, 3. Ausg., Stuttgart, 1839, (cited below as "Hz."), I, 74. The quotation is from the *Unsichtbare Loge*. Cf. *Jean Pauls sämmtliche Werke*, B. (Reimer), 1826 ff. (cited below as "JPW."), II, 20.

² Hz., I, 144.

³ Hz., I, 147.

⁴ Hz., I, 156. *Die unsichtbare Loge*, JPW., II, 65, 141.

⁵ Letter of (January 24) 1796: Extrablatt an meinem Geburtstage. Hz., I, 81. Feb. 22, 1796: "Anbei noch ein Extrablatt." Hz., I, 88. May 28, 1796: "Extrablatt zum Abschiedsrendezvous. . . . Noch einmal ergreife ich die Feder, um mit ihr in diesem Extrablatt (ein Jean Paul'scher Ausdruck) an dein Herz zu tippen. . . . im Extrablatt, so wie im Briefe, ewig, ewig der Deine!" Hz., I, 104 ff.

du mich mehr interessierest,—Bester, dasz du mir mehr am Herzen liegst, als alles Übrige in der Welt, dasz ich alles aufopfern möchte, um dir zu folgen, um, mit dir zusammen, den ganzen Umfang des beseligenden Glücks der Freundschaft genieszen zu können, dann sage ich dir eine heilige, unzählbar oft empfundene, durch keine unedle Einwirkung entweichte Wahrheit.—Wir sind für einander geboren.”¹ Or the following, in the same year : “ Ich las deine warmen Versicherungen deiner Freundschaft,—in innige Wehmut zerfloss mein Herz, und ich versank, den Brief in der Hand, in eine stille, schwärmerische Verzückung,—ich liebe dich,—ich bete dich an. . . . Freund,—innig Geliebter,—ich sage dir feierlich und ernst.—Gern opfere ich die Geliebte und alles, wenn ich mir dich erhalten könnte.”² The same chord is struck in the earliest literary attempt that we have from Hoffmann’s pen. With this exception, his youthful efforts are all lost ; but in view of his devotion to Rousseau, to Goethe’s *Werther* and to Richter, it is not surprising that these first efforts were in romance form. The brief specimen of the *Geheimnisvolle* referred to, written in his twenty-first year, is transmitted to Hippel as the treatment of a favorite topic, friendship. It begins, “ Wie so schön ist doch Freundschaft ! ” and culminates as follows, “ Ehe die Geburtsstunde unsrer Freundschaft schlug, hab’ ich recht erbärmlich in meiner Clause gelebt.”³ In the general nature of its contents and in form, it reminds one strongly of certain portions of the *Hesperus*.

With Hoffmann’s departure for Berlin and the beginning of his career as jurist, mention of Richter in his letters practically ceases. His legal labors, the diversions of a provin-

¹ Hz., I, 40.

² Hz., I, 42, 43. Cf. in the same tone, the letter of October, 1796, from Glogau. Hz., I, 127.

³ Hz., I, 91-93.

cial official at Posen, Plozk, and Warsaw, his growing absorption in musical matters, and the reading of the Romanticists, especially Tieck,—all of this forced Richter more and more into the background, just as maturity and marriage toned down the friendship-cult with Hippel.¹ At the very moment, however, when Jean Paul's influence as a literary model was beginning to be diminished by the widening of his horizon, Hoffmann formed the acquaintance of Caroline Mayer, Richter's future wife. He met her during his stay in Berlin, 1798–1800, at the house of his uncle, an Obertribunalrat and a colleague of Caroline's father.² Richter paid his first visit to Berlin after Hoffmann's departure for his provincial post, and ere Hoffmann returned to the Prussian capital, six years later, Richter had married and was living as head of a blooming family in Bayreuth.³

In 1808, after the Jena *débâcle* had brought a *débâcle* to his own fortunes at Warsaw, Hoffmann entered on his checkered career as musical director at Bamberg. This brought him close to Bayreuth; and two years later, at the house of the publisher Kunz, Hoffmann met the favorite author of his youth. Kunz relates that Hoffmann's fondness for drawing

¹ Abundant evidence of his growing interest in musical matters while at Posen and Plozk is found in the letters and fragment of his diary, quoted by Hz., I, 217, and in the musical productions. Cf. Ellinger, 26, 29, ff. The personal intercourse at Warsaw with Hitzig, who was fresh from romantic circles in Berlin, and with Z. Werner was of great importance for Hoffmann's development, particularly for his musical development. The influence of the Romanticists was not, however, sufficient to stimulate him to literary production, a point which Ellinger neglects, and which gives his full treatment of the subject (S. 35 ff.) the appearance of a *demonstratio a priori*. Cf. Grisebach's "Biographische Einleitung," *E. T. A. Hoffmanns sämmtliche Werke* (cited below as "HW."), I, p. xxvii.

² Hz., II, 20.

³ Hoffmann's appointment to Posen reached him the last of March, 1800. Hz., I, 177; Jean Paul arrived in Berlin the end of May of the same year. Nerrlich, *Jean Paul. Sein Leben und seine Werke*, B. 89, S. 360.

caricatures made a disagreeable impression on Richter;¹ probably a good foundation thereto had already been laid by stories regarding loose conduct of Hoffmann's in Berlin, which Caroline Richter had heard and repeated to her husband.² The matter remains an obscure point in Hoffmann's biography; however there was much in the eccentric and ill-regulated habits of the man to make him uncongenial with one of Richter's method and dignity. Throughout the whole of their personal relations Hoffmann seems to have been much concerned regarding Jean Paul's opinion of him. In the spring of the following year, 1811, he visited Richter in Bayreuth.³ That the elder author's treatment of him on this occasion may have lacked in cordiality is made probable by Hoffmann's reluctance, when two years later his publisher Kunz suggested Richter as the proper one to write an introduction to the first volume of the *Fantasiestücke*.⁴ Hoffmann, it is true, places his hesitation on the wholesome and independent ground that every work should stand or fall on its own merits, without the intervention of a popular impresario; nevertheless, he was greatly pleased and highly flattered when he learned through Kunz that Richter's dislike had been overcome by a look into his manuscript.⁵ Richter's introduction is a characteristic one, in the form of a review of the book for the *Jenaische Allgemeine Literaturzeitung* ten years later. He praises Hoffmann in cordial, although hardly enthusiastic tones, and with a reference to Swift and Sterne, establishes the apostolic succession to which Jean Paul him-

¹ Kunz (Z. Funck), *J. P. F. Richter*, Schleusingen, 39, S. 145. Cited by Nerrlich, *Ztg.*, 254.

² Kunz, *Aus dem Leben zweier Dichter (Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, 1), (cited below as "Kunz"), S. 115. Cf. Grisebach, HW., 1, p. xxxv.

³ Hz., II, 20.

⁴ Hz., III, 164. Kunz, 114.

⁵ Kunz, 115 ff. describes the scene at Jean Paul's house. Hoffmann's letter, Hz., III, 175: "es ist ehrenvoll von ihm genannt zu sein."

self also belongs.¹ Hoffmann's egotism, a romantic attribute of which he had a large share, was ill satisfied with Richter's introduction. He had expected it, he says, "weniger von meiner Wenigkeit handeln—kürzer, genialer gedacht."² As a matter of fact, both men had too large a share of self-love to become personally sympathetic, both were accustomed to demand and receive too much consideration from friends and acquaintances to make them at ease in close relations. Hoffmann seems, however, to have retained an interest and admiration for Richter's personality, and we have occasional evidences of this even after his removal to Berlin, with its absorbing circle of Romanticists.

Richter himself watched Hoffmann's development with growing distaste. He regarded him as to some extent personifying all of those extravagant and unprogressive tendencies in the later Romanticists which he most disliked. He asserts in 1820 that Hoffmann is no friend of his serious note, and with a strange perversion of judgment calls him "eine abwärts sinkende Sonne, die bei ihrem Aufgang kulminiert hat," and a "Plunderer."³ In the preface to the second edition of the *Mumien*, 1821, he holds that Hoffmann's humor has reached the point of insanity, and he makes him the typical leader of the "Tollkirschenfest" of Romanticism.⁴ It is hardly probable that Hoffmann ever saw this introduction, for in the following year, the year of his death, he sends Jean Paul a copy of the second part of *Kater Murr*, and later recommends to his good offices a Dresden bookseller.⁵ His references to Richter in his published works are, as has been remarked, comparatively few; but, altho occasionally ironical in tone, as noted below,

¹ HW., I, 3 ff.

² Hz., III, 199.

³ Nerrlich, *Ztg.*, 256.

⁴ JPW., I, p. xxxvi. Nerrlich, *Ztg.*, 256.

⁵ Nerrlich, *J. P.*, 646.

they are sufficient to show that he had lost none of his familiarity with Richter's works. After his death, if we may trust his biographers Hitzig and Kunz, Richter showed a lively interest in the accounts of his life and personality.¹

JEAN PAUL'S BIZARRE FIGURES AND HOFFMANN'S KREISLER.

In view of all that has been said, it is more than probable that from the time of his arrival in Bamberg in 1808, Hoffmann had looked forward to a personal connection with Jean Paul, and not improbable that here, under the shadow of the popular author, he renewed and deepened his acquaintance with Richter's works. The three great romances, *Siebenkäs*, *Titan*, and the *Flegeljahre*, which in progressive series show an emancipation from those eccentricities of style which mark the earlier romances and idylls, were published in the ten years preceding the battle of Jena, and although not so popular as Richter's earlier and more sentimental romances, nevertheless formed the *ne plus ultra* of a considerable part of cultured Germany. The few followers of the Weimar group, the aristocrats of culture, could make no headway against the broad flood of sentimentality with which Richter swept on the youthful and especially the feminine part of the reading public. The Romanticists in Jena and Berlin, although going their own path, recognized Jean Paul tacitly, or with grudging openness, as one with themselves in many ways.² Jean Paul's attitude toward Romanticism at

¹ Hz., II, 20 Anm. Kunz, "Vorwort," claims to have undertaken his Hoffmann biography at Jean Paul's suggestion.

² Kerr, *Godwi*, B. 98, S. 64 ff, shows the cordial appreciation of Jean Paul's ironical tone by the Schlegels, both in the *Athenaeum* and their correspondence, and the influence of this tone on Tieck. Cf. Haym, *Romantische Schule*, 689, 791, for the difference in the attitude of the Schlegels toward

this time is that of one who gives and takes. To the younger *literati*, the Brentanos and Hoffmanns, he was the giver ; from the semi-mystical physicians and natural scientists and above all from the philosophers there came to him, however, a constant stream of suggestion.

Of these philosophers, especially Fichte was of importance for Jean Paul's development. From the appearance of the *Wissenschaftslehre* in 1794 Fichte interests and irritates him, and for the next ten years the Fichtean idealism appears in one form or another in Richter's works. While he mocks and scoffs and attempts a refutation in the *Clavis Fichtiana*, in such characters as the leading persons in his three great romances the influence of Fichte is plainly visible.¹ In each of these three romances Richter gives us two sides of his own double personality, the idealist and the realist. This tendency toward the splitting of his own double nature is already visible to some extent in *Hesperus*, and comes sharply into view in *Siebenkäs* and still more sharply in the later romances. The sentimental and satirist, with their affirmation and negation of life, to use an expression of Schopenhauer's, reveal themselves in *Siebenkäs* and *Leibgeber*, in *Albano* and *Schoppe*, in *Walt* and *Vult*, even in *Theudobach* and *Katzenberger*, as clearly as in *Faust* and *Mephistopheles* or *mutatis mutandis* in *Don Quixote* and *Sancho Panza*. In all of the greater romances of Jean Paul we have on the one side the sentimental, subjective spirit, with a tendency to soar into the regions reserved for gods and titans ; on the

Jean Paul. Such enthusiasm as there is comes from the side of Friedrich ; August Wilhelm, as the temperate and somewhat anemic form-artist, has little sympathy for Jean Paul's "fast gichterische Reizbarkeit der Einbildungskraft."

¹ For a general treatment of the intensely interesting subject of Jean Paul's double relation to Fichte, cf. Nerrlich, *Jean Paul*, 60 ff. Especially in the third volume of *Titan* and in the earlier pages of the *Flegeljahre* the idealistic philosophy is satirized and caricatured.

other hand, the acid realism of the “Geister, die verneinen,” with a dash of *Weltschmerz*.

The same tendency toward the projection of the *ego* in a dual form may be found in Hoffmann’s characters. The contrasts which Dr. Ellinger has pointed out in the East Prussian character, depth of feeling, paired with cold and clear intellect, were existent in Hoffmann’s and were intensified by the constant struggle which went on between the cold world of fact, as represented by the dry-as-dust briefs and court records of his judicial labors, and the world of music, where his heart lay. But, unlike Richter, Hoffmann had no philosophical speculations in his head. A student at Königsberg in the early nineties, he never seems to have heard one of Kant’s lectures, and in his works he refers only once to his great fellow-citizen, and then indirectly.¹ Fichte and Schelling are just barely mentioned, one can hardly say more.² The double personality that appears in his works, especially in *Kater Murr*, is therefore a far more objective projection of himself and his fortunes than we have in the Leibgebers and Albanos and Lindas and Schoppes of Richter, influenced and contaminated as they are by satirical side-strokes at Fichte’s idealism. With Hoffmann it is always the contrast of artist and Philistine, and it cannot be too strongly emphasized—a point which most Hoffmann critics seem to have overlooked—that the Philistine is as clearly Hoffmann as the artist is.

The deep cleft in the *ego*, which finds such complete expression in *Kater Murr* in the persons of Kreisler and the

¹ *Kater Murr*, HW., x, 110: “mir fiel ein, irgendwo gelesen zu haben, ein jeder müsse so handeln, dasz seine Handelsweise als allgemeines Prinzip gelten könne.” The reference is of course to the “categorical imperative,” here used with satirical force.

² Cf. Grisebach’s “Verzeichnis.” A close search has failed to show other instances than those there mentioned.

cat, reveals itself so far as *Kreisler* is concerned in the first two volumes of the *Fantasiestücke*. Here *Kreisler*, the musical genius, stands in hostile attitude toward the whole Philistine world. He is unconsciously the typical ironical *ego* of Romanticism. He stands far above the facts among which he lives, and he moves with mad satire through an unsympathetic world. Music is his sanctum from which every profane foot is banished. It may be true, as Robert Schumann suggests,¹ that a certain odd musical character of Thuringia sat for *Kreisler*'s portrait originally; but *Kreisler* is Hoffmann himself, satire, grimaces, wild antics and all. It is my purpose now to point out certain characteristics of the Leibgeber-Schoppe-Vult family of pessimists which are reproduced in *Kreisler*. In the first place, it is not too much to claim that the idea of having one figure run through a series of fantasies as the representative of the author's satire and *Weltschmerz* was caught by Hoffmann from Jean Paul's bizarre figures. Leibgeber in *Siebenkäs* re-appears as Schoppe in *Titan*, just as *Kreisler* appears as the bearer of Hoffmann's satire among the fantasies of the first volume of the *Fantasiestücke* and among the *Märchen* of the second volume, and again in *Kater Murr* as the hero of the fragmentary romance which alternates with the biography of the Philistine tom-cat. Now, in addition to their personal note or background, a literary original can be shown for nearly all of Hoffmann's stories; it is more than probable, therefore, that the permanent humorous figure, at least in cellular form, owes its origin to Richter.

Schoppe-Leibgeber, for the figures are not to be separated, represents the climax of Jean Paul's *Weltschmerz*, and Schoppe, as found in *Titan*, is the figure that influenced

¹ Letter to Hauptmann von Fricken in Asch, Sept., 1834. Schumann, *Jugendbriefe*, 2. Aufl., S. 254.

Kreisler most strongly. Thus, a striking peculiarity of Schoppe is his fear of his own second-self, which, as he conceives it, may assume an actual form. The *ego*-fear becomes with him a fixed idea. "Alles kann ich leiden," he tells Albano, "nur nicht den Mich, den reinen, intellektuellen Mich, den Gott der Götter—Wie oft hab' ich nicht schon meinen Namen verändert . . . und wurde jährlich ein Anderer, aber noch setzt mir der reine Ich merkbar nach."¹ The fear grows with Schoppe's growing insanity. He cannot look into a mirror; the sight of his own limbs sets him in chattering terror; occasionally he seizes his own wrist and shouts, "Wen hab' ich da, Mensch?"² The satirical hit at Fichte is apparent; but the motive borrowed earnestness and gloom from Schoppe's own horribly earnest realism and in the end Jean Paul feels obliged to compensate for it by the introduction of Schoppe's double, Siebenkäs, from the preceding romance, as an actual basis for Schoppe's fear. The motive re-appears in the *Flegeljahre*, where Vult actually gives the *ego* corporal punishment.³

Turning to Hoffmann, we find that the illusion of a double, or second-self, was one of the most persistent dreams that tormented the nervous Geisterseher.⁴ How fearfully fertile the "*Doppelgänger* motive" becomes in Hoffmann's works is shown by even a careless reading of the *Elixiere des Teufels* and several of the stories from the *Serapionsbrüder*. With regard to the former, Fouqué's *Zauberring* has been suggested,⁵ merely as a literary source: in view of Hoffmann's

¹JPW., xxv, 114. ²JPW., xxv, 136. ³JPW., xxvii, 139.

⁴Tagebuch, Hz., II, 43: "Sonderbarer Einfall auf dem Ball vom 6ten. Ich denke mir mein Ich durch ein Vervielfältigungsglas;—alle Gestalten, die sich um mich herumbewegen, sind Ich's, und ich ärgere mich über ihr Tun und Lassen." Cf. further, Hz., III, 29, and Klinke, *E. T. A. Hoffmanns Leben und Werke vom Standpunkt eines Irrenarztes*, S. 126 ff.

⁵Ellinger, 119, 120.

fondness for Jean Paul, there seems no reason why Schoppe may not have furnished him with an earlier suggestion, to be worked out with the logical realism that makes the *Elixiere des Teufels*, burdened tho it is with the cumbersome romance machinery of the eighteenth century, a most intense bit of reading. In the earlier Kreisler sketches we have no mention of a double; but with the development of Kreisler's character in *Kater Murr* comes the incorporation of this motive. Here Kreisler has also a *Doppelgänger*, the painter Leonhard Ettlinger, who preceded him by some years at the court of Prince Irenaeus. Ettlinger, like Richter's Schoppe, had a fondness for cutting silhouettes,¹ and he, like Schoppe, goes insane. After hearing of his lamentable fortunes, Kreisler is terrified by the fear of meeting him. He fancies that his own reflection in the water is his crazy double, and he makes him a half-insane address. When he sees his image again (we are left in doubt here as to how much of the supernatural Hoffmann means us to accept), he babbles in wild fear to his friend, Meister Abraham, "Erstarrt ist mein Gesang, denn der Ich hat seine weisze kalte Totenhand auf meine Brust gelegt!"²

From the first Richter's Schoppe sees himself followed by insanity. He is tormented by dreams,—"Dante und sein Kopf sind Himmel dagegen!",³ he confesses himself in the ban of a fixed idea, he hears wax figures laughing at him and shoots at them, and he finally comes into a mad-house.⁴ We know from Hoffmann's diary and letters that he himself suffered from this common form of neurasthenia, the fear of insanity,⁵ and that he sought the company of alienists in Bam-

¹ HW., x, 138.

² HW., x, 148.

³ JPW., xxv, 24.

⁴ JPW., xxiv, 18, xxv, 112, etc.

⁵ Tagebuch, 1810: "Warum denke ich schlafend oder wachend so oft an den Wahnsinn?" Hz., II, 46. Cf. Klinke, 89, who treats the matter from the standpoint of an alienist.

berg and Berlin. It is also more than probable that the realism of some of the *Nachtstücke* and stories from the *Serapionsbrüder* and especially of the fearful scenes in the *Elixiere des Teufels* is the result of observations of patients in the insane asylum at Bamberg.¹ In the second volume of the *Fantasiestücke* Kreisler is said to be insane, according to common report.² He sees the fearful monster of madness following on his trail, "das bleiche Gespenst mit den rot funkelnden Augen—die krallichen Knochenfäuste aus dem zerrissenen Mantel nach dir ausstreckend—die Strohkrone auf dem kahlen glatten Schädel schüttelnd!"³ Kreisler signs himself a "verrückter Musikus,"⁴ and he promises a cycle, to be known as the "Lichte Stunden eines wahnsinnigen Musikers."⁵ When Kreisler reappears six years later in *Kater Murr*, written in fulfilment of a plan long entertained, Hoffmann makes him the hero of a romance which, had it been completed, would certainly have brought him into a mad-house. "Von jeher," says the author, "hatte er die fixe Idee, dasz der Wahnsinn auf ihn lauere."⁶ It follows him from the court to the convent, and there "regten sich die finstern Geister, die so oft Macht hatten über ihn und griffen schonungslos mit scharfen Krallen in seine wunde Brust."⁷ The third part of *Kater Murr* was never put on paper; but what has already been

¹ In the *Serapionsbrüder* Cyprian-Hoffmann says: "Ihr alle kennt ja meinen besondren Hang zum Verkehr mit Wahnsinnigen." HW., vi, 28. Dr. Klinke (108-109) shows with what a master hand H. sketched into the *Elixiere des Teufels* symptoms which he had observed directly from life: "Aus der Wahrheit und tiefen Wirkung seiner Figuren geht schon hervor, dasz er Geisteskranke direkt beobachtet hat."

² HW., I, 280: "schon lange galt der arme Johannes allgemein für wahnsinnig."

³ HW., I, 291.

⁴ HW., I, 288.

⁵ HW., I, 281. This work was taken up at a later period, but was found in H's papers only in the form of a sketch, reproduced Hz., II, 115. Cf. letter to Kunz, May 24, 1815. Kunz 162 ff.

⁶ HW., x, 140.

⁷ HW., x, 356.

said, together with the well-known sketch by Hoffmann of Kreisler with a bubble-pipe, dancing in wildly disheveled array, leaves no doubt that the musician, like Richter's Schoppe, would have come to the mad-house.¹

MINOR MOTIVES COMMON TO BOTH AUTHORS.

In addition to the Kreisler figure and "*Doppelgänger* motive," we have another Richter trait in Hoffmann's *Kater Murr*. We have seen the importance of Jean Paul's *Titan* for the Kreisler figure. The scene of the greater part of the action in *Titan* has a close parallel in *Kater Murr*. It is very natural that Richter should have taken a small German court as the background for his romance and a small German *Residenz* as its stage, for his youth had been passed in close proximity to the duodecimo courts of Thuringia, and manhood years had brought him into relations with the court circles at Weimar, Meiningen and Bayreuth. Hoffmann, however, knew nothing of court life at first hand, had never been in a small *Residenz*, nor come into contact with personages more important than the judicial dignitaries of Berlin or the landed aristocracy of the East Elbian provinces. It does not surprise us, therefore, that the court picture in the *Elixiere des Teufels* has nothing sharp and realistic about it. In *Kater Murr*, however, otherwise strongly reminiscent of *Titan*, we have a *Residenz*, drawn in the same satirical manner as in Jean Paul's romance. Jean Paul's realistic descriptions of Hohenvliesz and Haarhaar² have their caricature in Hoffmann's portrayal of the court of Prince

¹ Hitzig expressly confirms this, although apparently without authority from Hoffmann for his statement (11, 114). The biographer adds that the "Lichte Stunden eines wahnsinnigen Musikers," cf. above, was to close the work.

² *Titan*, 2. Jobelperiode, 10. Zykel.

Irenaeus, whose land has been mediatised, who nevertheless retains all the pomp and appurtenance of a grand duchy.¹ The nerveless Luigi of *Titan* has a counterpart, again exaggerated, in the idiotic Prince Ignatius, and Jean Paul's Fichtean egotist Roquairol in Hoffmann's demoniacal egotist Hector. As additional evidence of the importance of *Titan* for Hoffmann, it is worth noticing that the hero of one of his early tales, the "Magnetiseur,"² bears in German form the name of Richter's hero in *Titan*, Albano; and further that the only *bon mot* which Hoffmann quotes in later years from Jean Paul is the one in *Titan* of the princess who found herself in a different condition from her country, "nämlich im gesegneten"³—all minor evidence, to be sure, but of weight in showing the persistent impression of Richter's greatest romance on Hoffmann.

Again, one of Richter's queer whims of style may have suggested the peculiar double biography in *Kater Murr*. The biography of the worthy Kater is interrupted by fragments of the Kreisler romance, the author stating in the preface that these fragments were torn from a printed book by the cat and became accidentally mixed with Murr's biography.⁴ We think at once of the "Extra-Blätter," "Extra-Gedanken" and "Extra-Silben," and all of those intercalations and appendices with which Jean Paul interrupts the thread of the narrative and gives a serious or satirical excursus on some general subject suggested by the context. Perhaps a still more striking forerunner of this disconnected biography may be found in *Des Feldpredigers Schmelzle Reise nach Flätz mit fortgehenden Noten*, where we have a number of notes printed under each page of the text, characteristic, general remarks of a humorous nature, with absolutely no bearing on the text

¹ HW., x, 37.

³ *Prinzessin Bramabilla*, HW., xi, 105.

² HW., i, 139 ff.

⁴ HW., x, 10.

above. Richter blames the printer for the arrangement, the notes having been written, he says, on separate sheets, and then, thru oversight, left out of the final manuscript. The printer sets them up with their proper numbers, to be sure, but absolutely regardless of the text.¹

In Richter, Hoffmann found a forerunner in enthusiastic interest in the shadow-sides of human consciousness, notably the so-called "animal magnetism," which so much engaged the attention of natural scientists during the first two decades of the nineteenth century.² Jean Paul's works abound in references to mesmerists, second-sight, etc.;³ indeed his enthusiasm regarding hypnotic phenomena and his half mystical utterances about the ethereal or intra-physical body would have done credit to the most radical of the romantic natural philosophers.⁴ Hoffmann makes animal magnetism the subject of one of his earlier tales, the "Magnetiseur," and comes back to theme again and again in the *Serapionsbrüder*. Such things were in the air during all of those years; it is, however, noteworthy that in a conversation of the Serapion's Brethren, Cyprian-Hoffmann says, "Dieser Glauben (in animal magnetism) müsse in jedem wahrhaft poetischen Gemüt wohnen, deshalb habe auch Jean Paul solche hoch-

¹JPW., L, p. vii.

²Cf. the chapter on "Romantische Ärzte" in Ricarda Huch's *Ausbreitung und Verfall der Romantik*, Lpzg., 02, S. 273 ff. Of contemporaries, Oehlenschläger, *Lebenserinnerungen*, III, 184, 209, gives an interesting account of mesmeric séances in Berlin and Vienna.

³As a characteristic instance, cf. the simile of the "Hell-Seherin" in a later work, "Die wenig erwogene Gefahr (1815)," JPW., XLVIII, 144. Here and elsewhere Richter shows an intimate acquaintance with the hypnotic phenomena. Cf. especially the articles from the *Museum*, reprinted in "Mutmaszungen über einige Wunder des organischen Magnetismus," etc. JPW., XLIX, 1 ff.

⁴Most strikingly in the articles from the *Museum*, noted above. Richter seems to have undertaken magnetic cures himself. Nerrlich, *Deutsche Nationallit*, Bd. 130, p. lxi ff.

herrliche Worte über den Magnetismus gesprochen, dasz eine ganze Welt voll hämischer Zweifel dagegen nicht aufkomme.”¹

An author of Hoffmann’s musical attainments, and one who had made his way into literature thru a musical door, would naturally make some phase of music the theme of much of his work ; as a matter of fact, all of the sketches in the first volume of the *Fantasiestücke* treat more or less directly musical themes. Nevertheless, it can be pointed out that even here in one or two points he had a predecessor in Richter. First, in the relief of emotion thru improvisation on a musical instrument, making a “*Klavierauszug*” of the feelings, as Jean Paul in one place expresses it.² In *Hesperus* blind Julius accompanies Emanuel’s death by playing the “*Lied der Entzückung*” on the flute.³ In *Titan* Albano reproduces his emotions and tells the story of his love for the absent Liane in a fantasie on the piano ;⁴ and on another occasion he talks with the absent maiden and improvises his love-plaint in tones.⁵ Here again we have to do with general romantic motives : the harmony of thought and

¹ HW., vii, 65.

² JPW., xxi, 202.

³ JPW., x, 48. Jean Paul may have borrowed the motive from Sterne (cf. Czerny, 64), altho one thinks involuntarily of Richter’s own piano fantasies in the circle of super-sentimental women of the “Erotic Academy” at Schwarzenbach. The anonymous author of the *Nachtwachen des Bonaventura* (1804) has probably the scene from *Hesperus* in mind at the end of the first “Watch,” where the nightwatchman sings a passing song beneath the window of the dying freethinker : “Den Sterbenden ist die Musik verschwistert, sie ist der erste süsse Laut vom fernen Jenseits, und die Muse des Gesanges ist die mystische Schwester, die zum Himmel zeigt.” Michel’s edition, B. 1904, 9.

⁴ JPW., xxi, 202 ff.

⁵ “Ihm war bis zur Täuschung als sprech’ er mit Lianen, und wenn die Töne immer wie Liebende dasselbe wiederholten vor Innigkeit und Lust ; meinte er nicht Lianen, und sagte ihr : wie lieb’ ich Dich, O wie lieb’ ich Dich ?” JPW., xxii, 159.

sound belongs to the best-known canons of romantic art. It is Kreisler again, however, this "Unmensch ohne Zweck und Ruh," who otherwise bears marks of Richter, that carries out the idea in Hoffmann's sketch entitled "Kreisler musikalisch-politischer Klub,"¹ doing it of course with an objectivity of style and a technical frame-work that would have been impossible to Jean Paul. Further, the delicate Liane hears at critical moments an inner music. This "Selbst-ertönen," which comes as a message from the supernatural world, with unspeakable sweetness, is illustrated by Jean Paul, characteristically enough, by a reference to the death of Jacob Böhme.² In the first sketch which Hoffmann published at Bamberg, Ritter Gluck hears this inner music. He calls it the "Euphon." It is defined as a chiming which comes with moments of excitement and which may remain for two days at a time.³

Not to be forgotten also is Hoffmann's following of Richter in the use of *Ich* as a person, as *nomen commune*, as a substitute for every personal pronoun. These *ich*-fantasies rooted in Jean Paul's studies of Fichte and used originally

¹ HW., I, 288.

² JPW., xxii, 231 and note. "Dieses Selbstertönen—wie die Riesenharfe bei verändertem Wetter unberührt anklingt—is in Migraine und andern Krankheiten der Schwäche häufig; daher im Sterben; z. B. in Jacob Böhme schlug das Leben wie eine Konzertuhr seine Stunde von Harmonien umrungen aus." JPW., xxii, 231, Anm. In the passage of the *Nachtwachen*, above referred to, the author illustrates also by a reference to the "ferne Musik" which accompanied Böhme's death. Cf. above Note; further, Abraham von Franckenberg, "Bericht v. d. Leben und Abschied Jacob Boehmens" in *Des Jacob Boehmen Alle Theosophischen Schriften*. Amsterdam, 1682, 1. Abschnitt, 29; quoted by Michels, 151.

³ HW., I, 16, 18. Kreisler also is filled with an inner music, which rages in wild dissonances at times and which may be calmed into angelic harmonies by the appearance of a congenial person. Cf. "Brief des Kapellmeisters Kreisler an den Baron Wallborn," HW., I, 285 ff. Klinke, 70 ff., seeks to explain the phenomenon of the "inner music" on psycho-pathological grounds.

with satirical force, become a perfect mania with him in *Siebenkäs*, *Titan*, and the *Flegeljahre*, leading to such expressions as, "Auch schwur sein Ich wie ein Gott seinem Ich, dasz er nur diesen Tag noch bleibe."¹ This mannerism descends to Hoffmann. We meet with it as early as 1797 in a letter to Hippel from Glogau,—"Du sagst, mein Teurer, dasz selbst meine Briefe von der Veränderung zeugen, die mein Ich,—die guten Seiten meines Ichs gewaltsam zerstört hat."² As might be expected, examples abound in the great *Doppelgänger* romance, the *Elixiere des Teufels*: "Mein eignes Ich konnte ich nicht erschauen, nicht erfassen ;"³ "Das zweite Ich hatte grimmige Kraft ;"⁴ etc. Becoming rarer in the *Nachtstücke* and the *Serapionsbrüder*, the mannerism appears again in *Kater Murr* and in the story written in the last year of Hoffmann's life, the "*Doppelgänger*."

SIMILARITY IN THE IRONICAL NOTE.

When we come to consider the ironical note in the two authors, we find that here Hoffmann, and the Romanticists in general, had a forerunner or at least a co-disciple in Richter. As Kerr expresses it, after showing that it was just this trait of Jean Paul's that appealed especially to the program-makers in the *Athenæum*: "Die Selbstvernichtung der Romantiker besteht bei Jean Paul blosz noch nicht völlig ausgebildet . . . er zerreiszt, wie die Romantiker, die Suggestion, die er beim Leser hervorgerufen, zur eignen Belustigung."⁵ Indeed, it would not be hard to find in the *Vorschule der Aesthetik* programmatic statements of the theory of *Geistesfreiheit*, exactly parallel to Wilhelm Schlegel's celebrated definition of romantic irony as the playing with the subject-matter, as

¹JPW., xiv, 164. Dozens of similar examples might be cited from *Siebenkäs* and *Titan*.

²Hz., I, 146.

³HW., II, 119.

⁴HW., II, 265.

⁵Godwi. *Ein Kapitel deutscher Romantik*, B. 98, S. 66, 67.

when a child, instead of eating its orange, throws it into the air, or Tieck's much-quoted assertion that one cannot be said to be in complete possession of an object until one finds something comical in it.¹ Kerr has also shown that Jean Paul here operates with the same methods as Lawrence Sterne,² on the one side ; and that on the other hand, Tieck and Brentano have developed Jean Paul's gentle irony into an engine of distortion and destruction. Like Tieck and the *Athenaeum*, Hoffmann regards irony as the mother and bearer of humor.³ Some of his processes may very well have been derived from Jean Paul.

As exterior sides of Richter's humor may be mentioned the game of hide and seek which he continually plays with the reader, the "Extra-Blätter," "Extra-Gedanken" and "Extra-Silben," which abound in the *Unsichtbare Loge* and in the *Auswahl aus des Teufels Papieren*, the double introductions, the "ironische," "komische," "launige," "witzige," and "ernsthafte Anhänge," and similar digressions and interruptions. Other forms of this essentially ironical game are the confusion of similarly sounding names, as Wehrmeier and Wehrfritz, Albano and Albine in *Titan*, and the continual dodging in and out with Jean Paul's own personality and with references to his own works,⁴ a trait common in the satires and not unusual in the idylls and romances ; and, lastly, the satirizing of his own stylistic extravagances.⁵

¹ Cf. the chapter on "Romantische Ironie" in Ricarda Huch, *Blütezeit der Romantik*, 283 ff.

² "Die beiden Deutschen (J. P. and Brentano) stehen in der ganzen Sphäre der ironischen Mittelchen in dem Banne des Engländer." *Godwi*, 79. Czerny treats the matter at some length.

³ "Alle Ironie, aus der sich der tiefste ergötzlichste Humor erzeugt." *Serapionsbrüder*, vi, 167.

⁴ Czerny, 67 ff., finds here a borrowing from Sterne.

⁵ For instance, in the "Vorrede zum satirischen Appendix" (*der biographischen Belustigungen unter d. Gehirnschale einer Riesin*). *JPW.*, xvii, 105.

Ironical and essentially romantic too are the comical contrasts and ludicrous exaggerations which abound in the satires and idylls, the basis of all of which is an attempt to play with the subject and to tease the reader, even to the extent of befooling and befogging him. Furthermore, in the sentimental contrasts in the *Unsichtbare Loge* and *Hesperus* there is something closely akin to romantic irony. The reader is snatched from wedding to tomb, from laughter to tears and back again with the violent rebound of feeling which may be regarded as the basis of romantic irony.¹

This same close union of sentimentality and satire, the humorous *encore* to every sentimental outburst, which reveals itself in Jean Paul's works as a part of an esthetic theory, finds its reflection in Hoffmann in those days when he still stood knee-deep in the sentimentality of Richter and Werther. In 1794 he writes to Hippel: "Zu jeder Empfindung für Cora, zum Beispiel, hab' ich gleich irgend eine komische Posse zur Sourdine, und die Saiten des Gefühls werden so gedämpft, dasz man ihren Klang gar nicht hört."² Another time he must beg Hippel not to regard his sighs of loving friendship as a joke;³ and again, in the midst of the forced labors of his first legal work, he thinks of his "seliges Ende."⁴ This immediate rebound from intensified feeling into the comical and satirical, which is a subjective conscious operation with Richter, develops with Hoffmann into an objective necessity, as his character develops and the sources of sentiment become more and more encrusted. Thus he writes Hippel from Königsberg after a long absence: "Mancher ist gestorben im Jahre meiner Abwesenheit, z. B. mein Vater!"⁵ or he announces from Plozk in 1803 the death of an uncle with Mercutio's words, "Der Onkel in Berlin

¹ Cf. Nerrlich, *J. P.*, 201.

² Hz., I, 32.

³ "Nimm diesen Stoszseufzer nicht als Spasz auf." Hz., I, 40.

⁴ Hz., I, 87.

⁵ Hz., I, 155.

wird mich nicht mehr sehr empfehlen, er ist . . . ein stiller Mann geworden," and we have to look in his diary to see that he is deeply moved by the event.¹ In 1813 at Bamberg, out of the depths of his despairing love for Julia Mark, we find this note in his diary: "Sehr komische Stimmung; Ironie über mich selbst, ungefähr wie im Shakspear, wo die Menschen um ihr offenes Grab tanzen," and again, "göttliche Ironie, herrliches Mittel, Verrücktheit zu bemänteln und zu vertreiben, stehe mir bei!"² No better illustration could be found of the theorem that the office of humor is to restore the lost balance of the universe.

In one of the very earliest fragments from Hoffmann's pen, in the "Schreiben eines Klostergeistlichen an seinen Freund in der Haupstadt,"³ we have the easy, ironical style that one may see develop out of the sentimentality of the earlier letters. It is a satirical sketch on a literary subject, the use of the chorus in Schiller's *Braut von Messina*. It recalls Jean Paul in its ironical treatment of an unsympathetic subject, and like one of Richter's far-fetched similes is the proposition that Schiller's *Wallenstein* and Kotzebue's comedies should be accompanied respectively with the bass and treble flutes. Though Hoffmann avoids in general all of the "extras" that obscure Richter's style, there are reminiscences enough of these Richteresque peculiarities in his works. In the second volume of the *Fantasiestücke*, the "reisende Enthusiast," a caricature of Chamisso, closes with a postscript addressed to his dear "Theodor Amadäus Hoffmann;"⁴ in general, however, the author appears to us only in the person of one or more of his characters. Thus in the discussion among the Serapion's Brethren, the "Goldene Topf," an earlier fairy-story by Hoffmann, comes

¹ Hz., I, 210 and Hitzig's Note.

² Hz., II, 29.

³ HW., xv, 5. Reprinted from the *Freimütige*, Berlin, Sept. 9, 1803.

⁴ HW., I, 279.

up for consideration as “das Märchen eines entfernten Freundes”;¹ and on another occasion one of the brethren, representing Hoffmann himself, claims Richter’s comical Dr. Katzenberger as a personal friend and an intimate of his uncle.²

The strongly subjective nature of Richter’s humor is apparent to anyone opening the *Auswahl aus des Teufels Papieren* or *Quintus Fixlein*. He walks and talks among his figures. Hoffmann, on the other hand, projects himself into his figures and ironizes from their standpoint. For the bitter irony in “Berganza,” where Hoffmann puts his most sacred feelings into the mouth of a dog, or in the *Fantasiestücke* into the letter of an ape,³ or in *Kater Murr* into the autobiography of a cat,—for all of these he had many and nearer suggestions in Tieck and elsewhere, as well as for the deliciously ironical tone of the *Märchen* and Berlin tales. The point is, that in putting the serious and the comical into such close proximity, he had abundant literary suggestion in the extraordinary similes, the exaggerations and violent contrasts in Richter’s works, from the *Unsichtbare Loge* to the *Jubelsenior*. The “Extra-Blätter” in the satires and early romances, and the insertion of “Frucht-” and “Blumenstücke” among the “Dornen” of *Sibenküs* belong to the same family as the crisscrossed biography in *Kater Murr*. Going further, we see that the romantic ironical conclusion so-called, the anticlimax, in “Don Juan” and “Haimatohare,” where Hoffmann pours a cold shower-bath over the sentimental reader, is but a step from the sharp contrasts of sentimentality and satire in *Hesperus* or the Albano-Schoppe conversations in *Titan*. And lastly, the *Weltschmerz* of

¹ HW., v, 231. Cf. also the reference to the “Verfasser der Fantasiestücke in Callots Manier” in the “Jesuiterkirche in G.” HW., III, 99.

² HW., ix, 14.

³ HW., I, 293.

Siebenkäs and Leibgeber-Schoppe-Vult has its counterpart, as has already been shown, in Kreisler. Firméry has suggested that the so-called *Weltschmerz* in Richter springs from an overwrought sentimentality and sensitiveness, which feels all the sorrows of humanity as its own.¹ Thus an Emanuel or a Gottwalt becomes a Schoppe or a Vult. Hoffmann's sentimentality lies deeper than Richter's, hence his Kreisler is more artistic and less elementary in his outbreaks than Schoppe, his *Weltschmerz* more securely wrapped in the veil of irony. Of Kreisler's wild irony one might say, as Hoffmann says of the bitterly ironical characters in Shakspere, the fool in Lear or the melancholy Jacques or Hamlet: "Das Lachen ist nur der Schmerzenslaut der Sehnsucht nach der Heimat."² With both Jean Paul and Hoffmann the basis of ironical treatment is the same *Geistesfreiheit*, that consideration of the hateful *sub specie aeternitatis*, which lies at the bottom of all romantic humor.

STYLE.

Aside from the "Extra-Blätter," "Anhänge," etc., with which the narrative in Richter's earlier romances and idylls is encumbered, and the parentheses and other digressions within the sentence, the puns and the word-quips, his style in the earlier romances is extravagant in the extreme. Pathetic and fantastic images follow on each other's heels, until we have a picture that is vague and fantastic, and often, to modern taste, disgusting. This rioting of the imagination, where, to quote from Carlyle, Jean Paul "heaps Pelion on Ossa and hurls the universe together and asunder like a case of playthings,"³ may be illustrated by a few examples,

¹ *Étude sur la Vie et les Oeuvres de Jean-Paul-Frédéric Richter*, P. 86, p. 124.

² HW., iv, 52.

³ *Essays, Crit. and Misc.*, I, 19.

which are by no means extreme. "In Firmians Seele trieben die Knospen der Freude alle ihre Häute auseinander und schwollen blühend heraus;"¹ or "Nun färbte sich der Wahnsinn Rosenflügel in der Aurora unsers Lebens und fächelte die schwüle Seele."² In *Quintus Fixlein*, in the scene where Quintus lies brooding in the insane fear of death —the scene, by the way, has a realistic and comical conclusion—"das Auge wollte zerflieszen, aber blosz in Tautropfen für die Kelche der Freudenblumen, in Bluttropfen für fremde Herzen; die Seele wallete, zuckte, stöhnte, sog und schwamm im heiszen, lösenden Rosenduft des schönsten Wahns."³ Richter pictures his soul as a chord on the Eolian harp of creation;⁴ in one of his dreams "die Ewigkeit lag auf dem Chaos und zernagte es und wiederkäute sich."⁵ These are not extreme examples of the extravagance which Hoffmann in later years, when he mocks at all sentimentality, calls *Jeanpaulisieren*.⁶

That Hoffmann himself caught something of this bombastic style is shown by a review of the letters to Hippel in the period when he had not yet learned to treat all matters of sentiment ironically. In his twentieth year he closes a letter as follows: "Fühlst du ein sanftes Säuseln der Lüfte, ein leises Hin- und Herwehn, ein Flüstern, gleich dem murmelnden Geräusch eines fernen Baches, so ist es mein Genius, der dich umschwebt."⁷ In the following year he

¹JPW., XII, 144.

²JPW., IV, 221.

³JPW., IV, 221.

⁴JPW., IV, 232.

⁵"Rede des toten Christus," JPW., XII, 158.

⁶"'Freude und Schmerz verwunden mit gleichem Weh die Brust des armen Menschen, aber färbt der, dem verletzenden Dorn nachquillenden Blutstrophe nicht mit höherem Rot die verbleichende Rose?' So sprach mit vielem Pathos die *jeanpaulisierende Clementine*, indem sie verstohlen die Hand eines hübschen jungen, blonden Menschen faszte." *Das steinerne Herz*, HW., III, 270.

⁷Hz., I, 45.

writes, in a letter that in form and expression reminds one strongly of Jean Paul : "Eine dunkle schattenvolle Nacht umhüllt mich,—die Helle, die durch die Finsternisse bricht ist ein Traum,—mehr als ein Traum, vielleicht schon Dämmerung und Vorglanz eines schönen Morgens, der endlich durch die Schlagschatten der Bergkette brechen wird, die mich von dir trennt ;" ¹ and elsewhere in the same letter, "O ! mein Theodor, so lange noch die Sonnenblicke deiner Freundschaft mich erwärmen,—so lange noch diese auf die Eisrinde, die Convention und Unglück von nichtswürdigen Kleinigkeiten geboren, um mein Herz ziehen, wohltätig wirken, dasz sie im lieblichen Tau der Empfindsamkeit hinfliest, stockt noch nicht der Puls meiner Tätigkeit." ² Again, "a bitter second crawls its lazy snail's course upon the hour-wheel of his life," ³ or he regrets that he has not with the battery of his ideas made a breach in the fortifications of Hippel's heart, ⁴ etc. Examples of this bombastic style might be easily multiplied out of the letters prior to 1798.⁵ Later on, the easy, objective, ironical mode of expression gradually wins the upper hand.⁶

Even after he had found his own style, we have occasional

¹ Hz., I, 131.

² Hz., I, 128.

³ Hz., I, 97.

⁴ Hz., I, 101.

⁵ I have not had access to any of the publications of letters to Hippel and others, announced by Hans von Müller, cf. Goedeke, *Grund.*, VIII, 482, I. It is not likely, however, that the new material contained in them will throw any additional light on the development of Hoffmann's style. The letters already published by Hitzig and Kunz enable one to trace clearly enough the laying aside of the sentimental manner and the growth of the ironical note.

⁶ Among the papers found by Hans von Müller in Hitzig's literary remains, and as yet unpublished, is a fragment of an essay in acknowledged imitation of the style of Jean Paul and Sterne, with illustrations. Cf. *Euphorion*, IX, 367. The paper is doubtless satirical in aim, but is of importance as additional evidence of a congenial note in Jean Paul's style. Cf. further Goedeke, VIII, 503, 97.

relapses into the bombastic manner of expression, where Hoffmann "heaps Pelion on Ossa" in a manner that is truly Richteresque. Such is the "Vision auf dem Schlachtfelde bei Dresden,"¹ a sketch which Hoffmann wrote after visiting the scene of one of the fierce struggles between Napoleon and the Allies in the latter part of August, 1813. Both in form and contents this "Vision" shows a remarkable similarity to that celebrated vision of Jean Paul's, which was aimed at Fichte and the atheists and which appears as the first "Blumenstück" in *Siebenküs*, "Die Rede des toten Christus vom Weltgebäude herab, dasz kein Gott sei." Although the two are quite independent in subject-matter, development, and *Tendenz*, it is difficult to see how Hoffmann could have written his vision without having Jean Paul's dream pretty clear in his consciousness, equally difficult to make this clear without putting the two in parallel columns. The following may serve to illustrate some points in common. In the introduction to Jean Paul's dream the graves open, the shades of the departed pass into the church, while a gray mist concentrates above in the heavens,—"in groszen Falten blosz ein grauer, schwüler Nebel, den ein Riesenschatte wie ein Netz, immer näher, enger und heiszer hereinzog."² With Hoffmann, a mist sweeps across the battlefield, bringing with it the tyrant Napoleon, veiled in a column of smoke: "Da war es mir als zöge ein dünner Nebel über die Flur und in ihm schwamm eine Rauchsäule, die sich allmählich verdickte zu einer finstern Gestalt"—and at his appearance the dead rise from their graves. Both visions proceed in the form of dialogue, between Christ and the souls on the one side, Napoleon and his victims on the other. Finally, with Jean Paul, as a prelude to the address of Christ, earth, sun, the whole *Weltgebäude* sink into chaos; in Hoffmann, at a

¹ HW., xv, 57 ff.

² JPW., xii, 157.

gesture of the tyrant the abyss opens, “es war als öffne die Erde den schwarzen bodenlosen Abgrund, die Leichname und Gerippe versanken—und ihr Geheul, ihr schneidender Jammer verschwand in der Tiefe.” Then the abyss resolves itself into a sea of blood, from which arises the avenging dragon. In this vision, as elsewhere, Hoffmann surpasses Jean Paul in sharp, realistic word-pictures; Richter is of course more sentimental and magnificent, nor can the Romanticist follow him into his peculiar hysterical atmosphere of death-bed and charnel-house.¹

Having developed his own realistic style, Hoffmann later on parodies the *Jeanpaulisieren*: expressly in the passage in the *Nachtstücke*, already quoted, and tacitly in *Kater Murr*. In the latter instance Kreisler employs this monstrous figure, “Ha mein Fräulein! als Sie sangen, aller sehnsgürtige

¹ Ellinger (88) finds in the outer form of Hoffmann’s “Vision” a reminiscence of the celebrated dream of Franz Moor in the fifth act of Schiller’s *Räuber* and notes here also an echo of Schiller’s rolling rhetoric. The importance and persistent influence of the *Räuber* in Hoffmann cannot be denied,—cf. among other evidence his story of the same name in the *Letzte Erzählungen* (HW., XIII, 176),—indeed, it would have been difficult for anyone to have taken up the theme *in tyrannos* in these decades without to some extent coming into dependency on Schiller. That certain points of similarity with Franz’s dream may be noted by any one reading the two, is indubitable; on the other hand, it seems to me that apart from the correspondences with Jean Paul’s dream, noted above, numerous passages could be cited where the wild extravagance of word and image suggests the abandon of Richter rather than the rugged fury of young Schiller. Cf. the following, where the dragon-monster, the emissary of vengeance, seizes Napoleon: “Nun umschlang, fester und fester sein Gewinde schnürend, der Drache den Tyrannen, und überall gingen aus seinem Leibe spitze glühende Krallen hervor, die er wie Dolche in das Fleisch des Tyrannen schlug. Da wand der Tyrann, wie durch namenlose Folter verrenkt, das Haupt empor, und sah über sich die in blendendem Funkeln strahlende Sonne, den Fokus des ewigen Verhängnisses, und entsetzlicher, schneidender wurde der heulende Jammer,” etc. (HW., XV, 58).

Schmerz der Liebe, alles Entzücken süszer Träume, die Hoffnung, das Verlangen, wogte durch den Wald, und fiel nieder wie erquickender Tau in die duftenden Blumenkelche, in die Brust horchender Nachtigallen!" Later on, in a manner truly "romantic," he mocks at his own sentimentality.¹

CONCLUSION.

In summing up the foregoing and attempting the dangerous task of drawing the balance of Richter's influence on Hoffmann, I repeat what has been said regarding the limits of this investigation. I am well aware that Goethe, Rousseau, and Schiller, half-forgotten romance writers like Grosze, and the humorists Sterne, Lichtenberg, and Hippel, not to speak of the Romanticists, may be held responsible, either individually or as collective groups, for many traits in Hoffmann which have been pointed out. Operating with general results, as the philologist always must do in such cases, it seems to me that the following is a conservative estimate. In his youth and early manhood, perhaps until he began his official career at Posen, Jean Paul exercised a considerable influence on Hoffmann, not merely in sentimental moments, but in the formation of his satirical-ironical note as well. With the growth of musical interests and with the impressions received at Warsaw from the more deeply related Romanticists, Richter drops into the background. In Bamberg, however, the personal neighborhood of Jean Paul perhaps gives a fresh impetus to the reading of his work; and, as a result of this, *Titan* lends certain traits toward the creation of the Kreisler figure and the development of the *Doppelgänger* motive. Soon after we have what appears to be a relapse into Richter's bombastic violence and almost certainly a direct remi-

¹ HW., x, 54, 120.

niscence in the “Vision auf dem Schlachtfelde bei Dresden.” Then comes Berlin, with only occasional reminiscences of Jean Paul until the production of *Kater Murr*, six years later. The inception of this romance goes back to the Bamberg period—witness Kreisler himself and Julia, etc.,—and the influence of *Titan* is again visible.

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